1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"Discussion of the pattern of relationships among the people of Ifalik may well begin with a list of the bonds that unite the whole population. This unit has all the characteristics ordinarily cited to define a society, community or tribe. In fact, few of the aggregations called by those names are held together by as many bonds as the people of Ifalik. They share, to begin with, a common habitat and a common culture. Being so few, and confined within so little space, they are all personally acquainted by the time they grow up; though of course the degree of acquaintanceship varies widely. The chapter on government will show that they form a political unit; that on religion, that thay [sic] make up a single church or congregation.

As a matter of fact, it seems probable that all are biologically akin. But that is according to our way of thinking, not their own. As long as they do not recognize kinship, it does not exist as an additional bond except within the smaller groups to be discussed later."

1: Burrows--84-85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621, 476 Ifalik

"The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relationships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, 'the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen.' [85]

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds-sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time."

1: Burrows--86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"The largest territorial subdivisions of the population are determined by residence on one or the other of the two inhabited islands, Falārik and Falālap. Although some individuals have ties on both islands, and shift their residence rather freely from one to the other, nearly everyone is clearly identified, for participation in communal activities, with one or the other. The most conspicuous case of shifting residence, within our observation, was the chief Maroligar, who had close relatives on both islands. But his title involved authority over part of Falārik island, which identified him for most practical purposes, with that territorial group.

Each of the islands is further divided into two districts (gapilām). On Falārik island these are Falārik district, to the north (households 8-8 inclusive), and Ranau (households 9-19). On Falālap they are Ievang, to the north (the name means 'north'-households 20-24) and Iauru ('south' households 25-29).

In 1909 Sarfert recorded three sub-divisions in what is now called Falārik district: Sago, Gadjudolling, and Ledjourou. There are no longer any dwellings in the area corresponding to his 'Sago,' though the site of a former men's house is still pointed out there. 'Gadjudolling' (my 'Gajuteling') is the name of a canoe-house; and 'Ledjourou' may well have been the name of another, for which I was given only Fan ni Wā, the generic term for 'canoe house.' In Rauau, too, he collected two names for territorial subdivisions: 'Lawuau,' obviously the same as my 'Rauau,' and Sawolōb, as clearly the canoe-house name I recorded as Sabwōlap."

1: Burrows--86-87 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 621 Ifalik

"Now the word gapilām, which I translate 'district', is used in two senses; (1) for the more formal territorial units of which there are now two on each inhabited island; and (2) for the smaller, informal neighborhoods made up of the households about each canoe-house. The canoe-houses, through their use by men and boys as club-houses, constitute neighborhood centers for the males. The obvious interpretation of the difference between Sarfert's list and mine is that he, or his interpreter, did not distinguish between these two uses of the native word. That would not be surprising, in view of his short stay on the atoll.

However, the very ambiguity of the word suggests another possibility: that what are now mere neighborhoods may have been more distinct units, perhaps even political subdivisions, 38 years earlier. The situation on Falālap reinforces this suggestion. There the two districts, Iauru and Ievang, are the same as in Sarfert's time. Some of the song-texts collected suggest a distinct consciousness of difference between them. (The age of a song, except for some quite recent ones, is impossible to determine.) But in 1947-8 they were distinct in little more than name. They were sometimes treated separately in distribution of food. But they had only one canoe house, Gavilea in Iauru, large enough to accommodate sea-going canoes; so in communal fishing they acted as a unit, and seemed to do so in [87] most other public activities. For most purposes the island during our stay had only three districts: Falālap as a whole and, on Falārik island,

Rauau and Falārik districts. Iauru and Ievang were well along toward merging. Further evidence of a tendency to merge former subdivisions will be given in the chapter on government (pp. 139-141)."

1: Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm of a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--130-131 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 621 Ifalik

"....government in Ifalik might be defined as interaction between chiefs and populace, and between chiefs and foreigners. It is unmistakably institutionalized, in any sense of the protean word 'institution'. If we apply Malinowski's concept of an institution, government in Ifalik can be outlined as follows:

Group: Chiefs as the governors, populace as the governed.

Activity: Regulation of conduct in accordance with traditional rules; formulation of new rules when necessary.

Shared Environment: The atoll of Ifalik, including its reef and lagoon, and extending to the open sea as far as it is frequented by Ifalik canoes on short round-trip expeditions. (Interisland voyages take the canoes out of the jurisdiction of this institution.)

Material Equipment: The kind of property called 'property of the chiefs', and analyzed in the chapter on economics as public property: that is, the men's house, the path along the lagoon shore of Falārlk and the belt line about the taro swamp on Falālap, especially the northwestern part of it, which constitutes the main thoroughfare among the houses; the big seines kept in the canoe-houses; to a great extent the canoe-houses themselves and the large sailing canoes,

though these are nominally private property; in emergency, any other property.

Charter: (1) The legends insofar as they confer the authority of ancient standing on the principle of rank, including subordination of Ifalik to Gatschapar in Yap, superordination of Ifalik over surrounding atolls; most specifically, the passages which trace the paramount title, and its succession in Kovalū clan, to the [131] prowess of Mailias as a warrior, and the second-ranking title, with its succession in SauvelārIk clan, to the feats of Maur as a leader and orator; less explicitly, the traditional association of these mighty men of old with the abandoned site of the ancient men's house just inland from the present one.

(2) Symbols of rank in material objects and deferential behavior. These cluster around the men's house, as described later.

(3) All traditional rules of conduct insofar as it is regarded as the business of the chiefs to administer them. (It is hard to draw a clear line between these rules and rules of two other kinds: on the one hand, those administered within the household or informally by public opinion; on the other hand, those administered by gods or--in the case of tabus--by impersonal supernatural power. An

attempt to draw this line will be made later. The belief that the spirits of ancient chiefs avenge any violation of the tabu on the site of the ancient men's house is a case in which governmental and religious rules, as those categories are here defined, merge into one.

(4) The traditional, unverbalized 'constitution' - which places every individual in a hierarchy of hereditary rank, and confers authority on the holders of five chiefly titles, each of which descends nominally in a particular clan (actually, so far as observed, in the senior lineage of that clan). This constitution specifies--by precedent, as in the British constitution and the common law--the duties and prerogatives of the chiefs, some division of authority among them, and the obligations of the commoners."

2: Damm et al. --78 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 621 Ifaluk

The same things that we said about the clan relationships on Polowat apply to Ifaluk. The natives here know the Sáupólowat clans, which, as the name indicates, came from Polowat. Similarly, the Wisúsu clan originated in Polowat. The Monáulifer, the Fänimēï, the Gadamán and the Wolēï came from Yap. The last one is under the direction of the Polowat clan, that bears the same name. The Böl clan comes from Pulap; their chieftain (monáinan) was called Marēsū, and lived on Falalap. The Sáuwól clan came from Qleai. Then the Wuído clan, called Djāk, and the Sáuwálēi clan under the name Saufalässik are also found here.

2; Damm et al. --140 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 621 Aurupik

Over the family group of Eauripik stood the clan. Its structure and organization were not different from the relationships on Polowat; for instance, the Wonĕi clan was represented.

2: Damm et al. --191
116, 565, 621

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

In addition to the family, there was the clan, as it was described on Polowat. There were the clans Wolēī, in which Ligilāk was the monainan in 1909, Ellanaidjau, Sauwōl, Saufalāsik and Monōlifer.

The population was divided into the following class groups:

a) high chief (tamōl, e pi mōōn) and his family.
b) three lesser chiefs (poirim, auelig and mānu) and their families.
c) the rest of the population.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--258-259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 361, 621

On Faraulip Hambruch had counted 2 villages under one chief and two lesser chiefs; 18 dwelling houses, 4 menstruation houses, 1 ghost house. Population figure: 96 (14 of them had gone to Yap). The island of Pig is smaller than [259] Faraulip...17 dwelling houses, 14 cook houses, two ghost houses, and 59 inhabitants were counted. In earlier times the population was larger. The deserted station of a Japanese merchant could also be seen. The third little island of this group, Eat, is uninhabited since the typhoon.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 621 Woleai

Nevertheless [VMM: although there are no obvious boundaries between villages] such a division exists, since every island has two or three small villages which are under the control of different chiefs. The highest in control is the chief in Gatschbar on Jap.

11: Born--176
116, 621, 173

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

All the natives have their houses along the coast, on that side of the islands which faces the inner lagoon. There are no visible boundaries, although there are separate communities. There are about three or four villages, each with its own chieftain, on each island. There is no head chief within the atoll, not even a "first among equals". The actual head chief is the chieftain Follebu, or rather his father Bugolrau, in Gatschbar on Jap.

There are several legends concerning the origin of this political dependence on Jap. One of the most common variants is the following: Once a woman from Oleaï lost her course and was stranded at Gatschbar. She was received hospitably, and, when the winds changed, some people from Jap provided her with the necessary supplies and took her safely to her native island. The peaceful people of Oleaï recognized their superiors in these armed, warlike men who had saved the woman, and accepted them as their masters. The consciousness of their dependence is deeply ingrained in the natives of Oleaï. They believe that if they should secede from Jap and break faith with their head chief, a huge tidal wave would wash away their island.

28: Spiro--5 [2]
116, 161, 621

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1~4
Ifalik

"The 252 natives on Ifaluk live on two islands--the island of Felarik with 151 people, and the island of Falalap, with 101. Of the total population, there are 112 males, and 140 females. The islands and the village are identical, so that there is no political name nor boundary. There are two districts on each island, which are distinguished demographically, rather than ecologically. The two districts on Felarik are called Rauau and Felarik, the former being in the southern end of the island, and the latter in the northern half. There are eleven households in Rauau, strung along the main path, which runs parallel to the shore, about twenty-five feet from the beach. Between Rauau and Felarik there is a stretch of uninhabited land, about 200 yards, and then houses appear again. There are eight households, again stretched along the path. The two districts on Falalap, Ievang and Ievol, occupy the southwestern and northern parts of the island respectively, there being six households in the former and four in the latter, and again a stretch of uninhabited land separates them.

These districts are administratively distinct. That is, men of one district will go fishing, without informing the others; or, if seines or fish traps are to be made, they will be made by districts. There is no hard and fast rule dictating this behavior, but it results from the convenience of working with those who live continguously. The districts enjoy a quasi-political status in that each of the five chiefs is recognized as the chief of

at least one of the districts. But this jurisdiction is very tenuous, since the chief of the district does not necessarily live in 'his' district, three of the five chiefs living in Rauau. It is true, however, that a chief will spend much time in his own district, or supervise their work."

28: Spiro--26 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 174 Ifalik

"Ifaluk social organization is simple, compared to other Pacific peoples. The two islands of Felarik and Falalap have eight matrilineal and strictly exogamous clans, (ailang). The clans are not localized, and vary considerably in numerical strength, as is shown in the following table.

District	Kovalu	Sauvelarik	Mangau Ievar	Rape velu	Sauwel	Kailan gailuk	Kailangai Bwol	luelea	Total
Felarik	4	8	21	0	8	10	0	0	51
Rauau	29	17	11	13	16	13	0	0	99
Falalap	19	23	24	6	4	2	13	3	94
Totals	52	48	56	19	28	25	13	3	224

The origin of the clans is accounted for by the same two traditions mentioned in connection with the origin of chieftanship. One tradition has it that these clans constituted the original colonizers from Yap. The other maintains that the clans were instituted by Autran when she created the people on Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--26 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 582, 835 Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."